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719 DEVIL--rdud or rdut the evil principle, hlandey or hlandrey demon or imp, drey an evil spirit, dreypho male evil spirit dreymo female evil spirit, rdud i hugus the abode of a devil, ghegs and hnot chet evil [illegible]san a class of evil spirits--a tsan is supposed to live [illegible] nullah behind the Másho village.

428 [32]DISINHERIT TO--Ladákis can not disinherit their eldest son, However bad he may be, he must inherit the whole of his parents' property.
thopthang kok ches is to deprive a person of his inheritance.

586 DIVORCE TO--There are two kinds of divorce in Ladak, also a kind of separation by mutual consent, which amounts to a divorce, inasmuch as the parties concerned may re-marry.

586 595 768 When the eldest brother of a Buddhist family dies, his wife is at liberty to divorce herself from his dead body, by tying one end of a thread round the dead man's finger, and the other end round her own finger, and then breaking the thread. This ceremony is known as "skatpa chát ches." By divorcing herself from her dead husband, she frees herself of the younger brothers of her late husband. Under Ladák law, the eldest brother marries a woman, and the younger brothers share the wife. If a woman has living children she never [478] divorces herself from her dead husband, for her eldest son, or if she has no son her eldest daughter [33] inherits the family property and the dead man's brothers remain in a subordinate position in the house. If she has no children, she often looks out for a more comfortable home.

The brothers of the dead man have no voice in the matter of this kind of divorce.

[587] If the woman divorces herself, then the eldest surviving brother is at liberty to marry a wife of his own selection, but he must share her with his younger brothers.

586 779 If a Buddhist couple can't agree, they refer their case to an arbitrator or "GHatpo, "who, if he thinks matters can not be amicably arranged, decides that they must "break the stick, " and thereby divorce each other. This ceremony is called "SHing chak ches" each party retains his or her own property. No stigma attaches to either party provided "incompatibility of temper" is the cause of divorce. If 586 428 there are any small children, under 7 or 8 years, they remain with the mother till they are 7 or 8 years old, and

DOG-RA AV 6

then they go to their father, and eventually inherit his property. Except in the case of a "makpa" husband (see makpa) a Ladáki woman cannot divorce her husband against his will, but a man may divorce his wife for adultery. In such cases, circumstantial evidence against a woman is not enough, and a man who would take proceedings against his wife unless she had been taken "in flagrante delicto," would be looked down upon and termed a "meestam sonum batkhan" i.e., one who listens to scandalous rumours. WT 586 428 WT 586 684

Divorces of this kind are rare, for Ladákis are peculiarly free from sentimental ideas of dishonour and wickedness in connection with this offence, which they regard as amounting to an infringement of private rights in property rather than as anything more serious. Consequently, if the offending wife is willing to return to her husband, the latter usually consents to hush the matter up, in consideration of a sum of money probably 4 or 5 rupees or other valuables being given to him, as compensation, by his wife's lover. If the woman refuses to return to her husband, the latter can divorce her and retain possession of her property. If a man wishes to divorce his wife for any offence other than adultery, and his younger brothers do not agree to this, then the eldest brother, if he persists in divorcing his wife, must give her enough land to support her and his younger brothers. The wife and the younger brothers then leave the family roof and set up house together of their own account. WT [595]

Ladákis never apply to the Kashmir law courts for a divorce, such matters they arrange among themselves. They are however subject to the Kashmir laws, and a vindictive husband or wife may bring his or her case before the Kashmir courts. These do not pronounce decrees of "divorce" but they may imprison or fine persons found guilty of infidelity. WT 692 684

DOGRA--singpa. Owing no doubt to the fact that most Dogra names end with the syllable "sing." The Dogras are looked up to as soldiers but if a Civil official is described as a Dogra, it is almost tantamount to an insinuation that he is an ignorant, pig-headed fellow. A man who is not a Dogra is not spoken of as a Dogra, but if a Dogra is described as a Dogra, the intention is to indicate that he is not clever. WT 563 704 D 704 WT 186 554

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his parents have any property. If there is no son, then the eldest daughter inherits. She, in consultation with her parents, picks out a husband for herself. Such a husband is termed a "makpa." He is the property of his wife, and his younger brothers cannot claim to share her. The "makpa" has to live on his wife's property. When he marries, the daughter, the latter inherits the "khángchhen," while her parents take the "khángoo." A "makpa" is only one step removed from the "cavaliere serviente," can be turned out at a moment's notice, for no fault, and even the fact of his having children by the woman, does not debar the latter from her right to dismiss him summarily. It is usual for a woman to give a dismissed "makpa" a sheep or a few rupees. If there are no children in a house, then a son is adopted; for particulars in regard to this, see under the heading "adoption" and "husband."

753 EPILEPSY--za. Ladákis think that if the shadow of a rainbow falls on any person, he, or she, becomes epileptic, but see under "Rainbow".

779 [39]ETERNAL BLISS--deywa chhenmo. The ordinary Ladáki knows little or nothing about the state of "deywa chhenmo" which is apparently very similar to the European idea of "nirvána" or absorption into the Absolute Infinite. Buddhists have no God, according to our ideas, there is therefore no Being into whose Infinity they can be absorbed. They understand "deywa chhenmo" to mean a state of absolute rest and peace--free from all desires and pains, and to be attained only by the spirit of the pious at the conclusion of the period of its re-births or embodiments, in this world.

563 195 EUROPEAN--pheelingpa. This word means literally "people from beyond the ocean," it is, however, applied to all Europeans, whether they come from across the sea or not, e.g., Russians in Siberia would be termed pheelingpa. On the other hand a native of Ceylon would not be termed pheelingpa. The ordinary and more respectful word for a European is the Indian word "Sáhib."

595 428 583 601 [597] If he has only two brothers, they both become the "de facto" husbands of his wife, but if he has more than two brothers, some of them must become Lámas (priests), or must leave the paternal roof, and make their own way in the world, as not more than two brothers can share the wife of their eldest brother. The wife addresses her real husband, that is to say, the eldest brother, who alone has gone through the ceremonies of betrothal and marriage, as "ácho" or in polite language "káGHa," while she calls the two younger brothers "no" or "káGHa chhungan".

601 The "ácho" husband speaks to his wife as "achey," while the "no" husbands speak to her as "nómo." Speaking of the wife, all brothers call her their "áney" or "zhidmat". Another person speaking of this woman and her husbands would describe the woman as being the "zhidmot" (wife), of the góboo (eldest brother) parma (middle brother), and tháchhungan (little brother).

● 586 If the woman has no child by these husbands, other arrangements are made, but see under "Re-marriage".

595 587 According to the Ladák usage, a woman may have 3 brothers as her husbands at the same time, but she cannot (unless divorced) marry another husband while any of these brothers live. After they are all dead, she may marry another man, but as a matter of fact, she never does so, if she has any children.

583 586 A "makpa" is the husband selected by an heiress; he is generally a younger brother of a family of more than 3 brothers, and he is, therefore, glad to be married to a woman who will support him. The "makpa" is the property of his wife she can turn him out whenever she pleases, and call in another "makpa" if so inclined; but as a matter of fact this is seldom done.

478 583 If there are daughters, but no sons in a family, the eldest daughter becomes the heir to the family property, and occupies the position which the eldest son, had there been one, would have held. Instead of being given in marriage, she selects a single husband for herself, or her parents do it for her, and such a husband is called a "makpa." From this custom it may be inferred [595] that the ladies of Ladák do not approve of polyandry, for how, otherwise, can we account for the fact, that while the pauper has several husbands at the same time, the heiress has never more than one.

778 [65]IDOL--skunda or skoo. There is no invidious meaning attached to this word, a Buddhist speaks of his clay god as a "skunda."

RAVEN--chhoskiong or phorok. This bird is held in reverence and never killed. But see under "Omen." 825

[132]RECRUIT--seepa sóma. 701

[133]REMARRY TO--yáng hlokstey pakston cho ches. The first wife of a man is called his "changchhen," if she has no children, or if he is rich enough to keep two families, he may marry a second wife, who is called his "changchhungan," and if she too is childless, or if he can afford to keep three families, he may marry a third wife, who is called his "yángchhungan." So long as these three are alive, he may not marry a fourth wife. If one wife dies, another wife may be taken in her place. As a matter of fact, the Ladákis are much too poor to wish to support more than one wife in a family, and it is only the necessity for having children, who will one day relieve them of the "forced labour" duties attaching to the possession of land, that induces them to [184] remarry. If a man and his brothers have got, in common, three living wives and yet no child, they may not get another wife, but may call in to their family circle another man, to be a husband to their wives; this man is termed a "phortsak." If he too begets no child, still another man, called "pho-chhungan," may be called in. If he too is childless, the original husband and wife must resort to adoption. In the case of the death of the eldest husband of a woman, the latter is at liberty to divorce herself, in the manner described (see "Divorce)." After this she must leave her late husband's house, leaving with her husband's family any children she may have; she is then at liberty to marry again, and so on, for nine times, after which she must be content to remain a widow. If she does not divorce herself from the husband's corpse, she becomes, or rather remains, the wife of the younger brothers. She cannot remain in her late husband's house, and in possession of her children, unless she continues to remain the wife of the younger brothers. As a matter of fact, a Ladáki woman, unless she is childless, never leaves her original husband's home. In any case, it is considered improper for a man or woman to remarry within a year of the death of his, or her, wife or husband, and during this period of mourning a widower is termed "yoóksápo" and a widow "yooksámo." If

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did and she also gave the sacrificial priest (mcod-gnas) a few rupees 842
"for the monastery," which the priest received with a satisfied "Oh, Oh!"
He then blessed her and assured her that her wish would now soon be fulfilled
and that she would be delivered of a little boy. Meanwhile nothing
of the kind happened. The lamas declared that perhaps unconsciously
and without willing to do so, the Dragshos must have angered the Tara,
so that their prayers and offerings had remained ineffective. The
Dragshos people now let it go at that and did not bring any more offerings;
the matter became too expensive, and Namgyal did not trust a single
lama of the circle of his closer relatives any more, except the hermit
Tsetan. Namgyal and his father had too often found themselves
swindled by them. Within the following three years Chosskyid bore
two girls; in the sixth year of their marriage there finally came the
ardently desired son, a circumstance which caused great joy in the
house of the Dragshos. By this the happiness of the young couple was
increased and man and wife became even more strongly attached to
one another.

How different was it in many another house in the village! 595
The polyandrous relationship was the cause of much conflict, quarreling 837
and jealousy; often the woman preferred one of the younger husbands
to the oldest one who after all had a claim to the first right of a hus-
band; often enough the younger husbands of one woman looked for
compensation for lack of marital happiness outside the house. The
man who goes on journeys cannot always be sure of the faithfulness of
the wife he is leaving behind, especially when he is her sole owner;
even less does the man who goes on travels remain bound to his promise
to be faithful, during the time of his absence. Often the man sees only
a maid in his wife, who must subordinate herself to him in all things
and who must comply with all his moods and desires. Often he vents
his displeasure with vicious maltreatment, and very frequently a com-
plete break, a divorce (131), then takes place.

131. Divorces often occur in Tibet and are not infrequently 586
brought about in the most frivolous manner. In the case of
continuing unproductiveness of the woman, her unfaithfulness,
or as a consequence of serious disagreement between man and
wife, the man dismisses his wife; and frequently the latter
also leaves her husband if he maltreats her. The old royal
law (rgyal-k'rims) states that the guilty party, the one who
breaks up the marriage must pay the other party compensation

●586 money: One "coat lappet full" of money, that is, a certain sum of money which is to be put into the lappet of the long coat (t'o-sgaṅ) and is to be handed over in this manner. The concept to-sgaṅ points to the fact that the fine was originally a very high one. But the concept is extremely flexible and accordingly it is usually stretched--or shrunk--a great deal. In Tibet, too, there frequently prevails a "double standard" for man and woman. A proverb states, in the conciseness characteristic of the Tibetan language: "Man--coat lappet--cow; woman--coat lappet--horse"; that is to say, the man who breaks up the marriage pays as compensation the price of a cow; the woman in the corresponding case pays approximately threefold price of a horse. Often one party maliciously leaves the other and does not think of paying a sum of money as compensation. Then there are violent disputes between the families and the tribes of the persons involved, as well as protracted litigations in court.

ooo In comparison to this, the relationship between the young couple Namgyal and Chosskyid was distinguished very favorably by the fact that here each party was attached to the other by warm affection. Namgyal guarded his "migbras" (the apple of his eye) with love and with a wakeful eye and Chosskyid /119/ as time went by became increasingly a faithful helpmate and support to him in all his duties.

511 With respect to outward signs of good fortune, that is, material goods, Kubera, the god of wealth, had not provided the Dragshos family too liberally, according to the concept of their Tibetan neighbors and acquaintances. Despite their elegant descent they were nothing but farmers whose modest wealth consisted of their possession in the fields and cattle. Aside from fields and clover meadows the family owned three horses, a number of cows, a few yak oxen and donkeys, fifty odd sheep, and some goats as well as chickens. Cash was always quite scarce with them as it is with all Tibetan farmers. The money as a rule just sufficed for the payment of the heavy taxes, for the purchase of the greatest necessities, insofar as these could not be supplied by their own farm. The latter was, luckily, the case to a very large degree. Wheat, barley, and buckwheat were supplied by their fields. The grain [252] was ground at one of the small water mills by the brook; it was sifted through a sieve made of horse hair, and in this manner they obtained a coarse, nourishing flour. Apricots mature in the hot summer sun of

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III. B. 595

Social and Religious Life. 184

Customs and ceremonies connected with births, marriages, funerals, &c.

child, but the wife of the family objected strongly, claiming both brothers as husbands, and refusing to admit another woman into the household, and she eventually prevailed. In Spiti polyandry is not recognized, as only the elder brother marries and the younger ones become monks; but there is not the least aversion to the idea of two brothers cohabiting with the same woman, and it often happens in an unrecognized way, particularly among the landless classes, who send no sons into the monasteries.

In Spiti when the bridegroom's party goes to bring the bride from her father's house, they are met by a party of the bride's friends and relations who stop the path; hereupon a sham fight of a very rough description ensues, in which the bridegroom and his friends, before they are allowed to pass, are well drubbed with good thick switches. In Spiti if a man wishes to divorce his wife without her consent, he must give her all she brought with her, and a field or two besides by way of maintenance; on the other hand, if a wife insists on leaving her husband, she cannot be prevented from so doing; but if no fault on the husband's side is proved, he can retain her jewels; he can do so also if she elopes with another man, and in addition can recover something from the co-respondent by way of fine and damages. There is a recognized ceremony of divorce which is sometimes used when both parties consent. Husband and wife hold the ends of a thread, repeating meanwhile "one father and mother gave, another father and mother took away: as it was not our fate to agree, we separate with mutual good will"; the thread is then severed by applying a light to the middle. After a divorce a woman is at liberty to marry whom she pleases; if her parents are wealthy, they celebrate the second marriage much like the first, but with less expense; if they are poor, a very slight ceremony is used.

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Corpses are ordinarily burnt, and the ashes thrown into a river, or made into a figure of the deceased, and deposited in a *chorten* or pyramidical cenotaph in the case of great men. Burning is the only practice in Láhaul, but in Spiti the dead are sometimes exposed on the hills to be eaten by wild beasts, or cut into small pieces and thrown to dogs and birds according to the custom of Great Tibet, where these beneficent methods of disposing of the body are philosophically preferred as most likely to be pleasing to the Heavenly Powers. In the public rooms of some of the Spiti monasteries you are shown masonry pillars which contain the bodies of deceased abbots buried there in full canonicals in a sitting posture.

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Of polyandry, Mr. Anderson writes:—

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"Polyandry exists more or less on all the three rivers of Láhaul; but it is dying out. This probably arises from an improvement in the condition of the people, which has also produced greater division of families. The custom of polyandry is now considered shameful and is not willingly admitted. The younger brothers will allege that the woman is their elder brother's wife, not theirs. Trade has very much increased during the last ten years; the male population has now many new ways of earning a living, and hence the circumstances that gave rise to this custom are disappearing and with them the custom itself. It is not customary to marry young, women being generally between fifteen and twenty years of age (*vide* Cunningham's Ladákh, page 289). Even the better classes have, as a rule,

[438]

[582]

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 A.4 W. Tibetans A.4
Spiti 49a

Divorce.

A son-in-law who has been adopted cannot be divorced by his wife as in Ladâkh. 586

There is no custom in Spiti of a widow divorcing herself from her dead husband.

Unfaithfulness and refusal to cohabit are reasons for divorce, but incompatibility of temper is not.

In cases of divorce both parties go to the Nono.

If the woman is in fault, her jewels and *perik* (head ornament) and a pony are given to the husband. If the man is in fault, a field is given to the woman for her maintenance, but she can only retain it so long as she does not marry again. The man may re-marry. [587]

A wife's adultery is usually condoned by the present of a few rupees to the injured husband. A husband's unfaithfulness usually only results in a quarrel. A single lapse is not ground for a divorce, and only cohabitation with his paramour can give his wife right to a divorce. 586 937

Pregnancy.

A married woman wears white breeches till she is pregnant, when she wears red or black. Unmarried girls wear white breeches up to twelve and afterwards red or black. 843 292

Naming.

The name of a child is selected by a *lâma* after reference to the Sacred Books, who receives for the service a *khâta*, or piece of cloth, such as is given by visitors to a monastery. 553 793

When naming the child, the *lâma* places a little bit of cloth upon it, or, if the child be not present, sends the cloth to its parents.

In every monastery *keser*, or green, water is kept; *i.e.*, water in which *kêsar*, saffron, has been placed. And sometimes, but not always, when naming a child, the *lâma* sprinkles it with *kêsar* water.

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by people who cannot write, is a sign of the well-being 000

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428 the welfare of the state by the security and well-being of their
182 religious order.

595 The marriage of a woman to plural husbands, like the marriage
585 of a *magpa* to plural wives or the marriage of one man to one woman, is a simple affair in Ladakh. The relatives escort the bride to the groom's house, where prayers are read by a lama. The prayers are in part directed toward a separation of the gods of the bride's house from the gods of the groom's house. We of the West are not, in some respects, as wise as those of the East. But we do know that when the house of the bride is too closely associated with the house of the groom, trouble may ensue. We have our own terminology for the problem. The Ladakhis may be more realistic than we. They tackle the problem vigorously, though perhaps indirectly, by having the lamas exorcise the spirits of the house of the bride and keep them from the house of the groom. They know, as well as we do, that house gods can be troublesome. What the lama does is this. He has a vase in which he puts various charms. Then, after pronouncing incantations over the vase, he breaks it and thus destroys the entrance of the bride's house gods into the house of the groom.

The marriage ceremony is simple. It is merely a declaration by the lama that the couple are man and wife. Several days of entertainment follow, with the lamas reciting prayers every morning.

595 Divorce is even more simple. The wife in a polyandric marriage
• 586 or the *magpa* in a polygamous marriage gets a divorce merely by walking out. If the brothers want to get rid of their joint wife, the procedure is almost as simple. They merely tell her to go hence and, as damages, present her with a cow. But they must be unanimous to make the divorce that easy. If one brother wants her to stay, she need not go. If sisters decide their *magpa* is a poor bargain, they can dismiss him and present him with a horse in lieu of damages.

The wife of a polyandric marriage can get her divorce by getting up and walking out at any time. The husbands may send a

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

horse to fetch her back. But if she returns the horse and does not come, that is the end of it. The divorce is final. The wife in a polyandric marriage, on the death of her eldest husband, can get a divorce from the younger brothers by tying a thread to the finger of the deceased and to her finger and then cutting the thread.

Though marriage is a concern of the lamas, divorce is purely a concern of the families.

This was the story of polyandry and of the *magpa* that I heard discussed along the trails and in the villages of Ladakh. But I wanted to see for myself how the institutions flourished and functioned.

I learned that the polyandry system breeds prostitution. There are in Ladakh about as many women as there are men. In Leh, which has a population of 4,000, the men and women are about equal in numbers. There are sixty prostitutes in Leh. They cater to the caravans and to the Army garrison.

I also learned that polyandry among Buddhists has increased the flow of Buddhist women into Moslem marriages. There is an ancient mosque in Leh serving the religious needs of Moslems who travel the caravan routes. Today about half the people of Leh are Moslems. Moslems are polygamous, in theory at least, and take as many wives as their economic conditions permit. In Ladakh that usually means that a Moslem has only one wife, for women are expensive there as elsewhere. Buddhist women, left out of a polyandric marriage and not choosing prostitution, turn to the Moslem men and take their Buddhist charms and good-luck pieces with them. To all outward appearances they become Moslems. The Moslem priest makes them wear a large piece of cloth under their hats and over their shoulders on threat that if they do not do so their hair will turn to snakes when they die. Buddhist women turning to Moslems for marriage, though outwardly Moslems, are probably Buddhists in their hearts for the rest of their

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The next day there is dancing again in front of a crowd of spectators, and in the afternoon or evening of this day the bride also comes out to dance. If the bridegroom is only a *magpa* (that is, brought to the bride's house), he has to dance with the *nyopas* all day long. On this day the feasting proceeds according to the aforesaid menu, which is the same in both houses, and in the evening the *brangyas* are divided up and distributed, those in the bride's house being made of flour. Early in the morning of this day the bride and bridegroom have to go to salute the parents of the former, and the following night is again spent in dancing and feasting. Throughout, the *nyopas* and relatives take food and drink to the wedding pair, who also are invited to meals by the cook, brewer, and keeper of the store-room respectively, and whose hospitality they must return, while they must not omit to give food and a *jau* (As 3½) per head to the *bedas* or bandsmen. This same evening the *nyopas* receive presents from the house, where dancing again takes place.

The following day is called the *nyendron* (relative feast) of the bridegroom. If the guests invited by the bride amount to one hundred, at the bridegroom's feast there will be one hundred and fifty visitors, such a proportion always being maintained.

The next day is called the *dronchung*, to which only the nearest relatives come, while a final day's feasting provides the servants with their turn, and so the festivities slowly wane.

By custom, nobody is permitted to marry the relatives of either parents. Only on rare occasions very distant connections are married, for instance, if they are removed three or four generations. This close relationship is called *Rtsibma*, indicating that they are of one rib, whereas the ordinary word for relation signifies "of one race." In ancient times nobody was allowed to marry a personal relation unless removed by eight generations.

If the happiness of the couple inaugurated with such

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

586 gaiety does not stand the test of time, divorce can be obtained by payment of an animal. The Ladaki proverb thus states [538] the situation : " If the husband is turned out he can demand a pony, but the wife can expect a cow." The horse and cow given need only be strong enough to walk round a dunghill. If one of the pair dies and was the owner of the house, the living partner is tied by a piece of string to the corpse of the other, and when the string is broken by pulling on it, the marriage-tie is also broken. Such means are only resorted to if the living partner wishes to leave the house, but he or she may remain if preferred. In the former case nothing need be paid on leaving the house, and the party's own goods may be taken away also. Thus each takes his or her own property, and the one who was brought to the house must also pay for a large part of the wedding festivities.

583 Obviously the easiest method of marrying is by stealing, after which it is also much easier to divorce. An additional advantage to the young people is that they may choose each other instead of being subject to their parents' selection. [565] Also little care is taken to preserve class.

586 If the divorcée returns to her parents' home, she is not allowed to enter her parents' temple, and sometimes she is 614 not even allowed to sit in front of their fire-place, because at marriage she joined another *paspun*.

587 A man or woman may marry a second time, but there are 595 no wedding festivities. Should the first wife bear her husband no children, he may take a second one or *Chanchung*. If possible she should be the younger sister of the first wife, if not, a cousin or near relation. If she produces no posterity, the husband must do without. The first wife retains priority of rank. even though the second becomes a mother. If a *magpa* and his bride have no children, a *Chanchung* is brought for the *magpa*, she being a near relative of the heiress.

595 Before leaving the subject of marriage, we must say a little more about the customs of polyandry, as Ladak is one

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

595 428 he belongs to her, not she to him, as she would in the regular, fraternal polyandry of the *bag-ma* marriage. The heiress's children take her name, and her bridegroom is really nothing more than the man she has chosen to enable her to have the children she needs to hand down the property she has inherited undivided. A *mag-pa* or *mag-pas* can be turned out [586] by their wife without her having any obligation to compensate them; in such cases, the woman does, however, usually give the poor man a sheep or a few rupees as a parting present. Even if there are children of the union, the *mag-pa* or *mag-pas* can be dismissed, it being considered that he or they have fulfilled their mission and are no longer of any use. Offspring remain with the house, namely in this case, with the mother.

428 597 In the rare cases where there are no direct heirs, male or female, household property and family name go to the most closely related member of some related branch, with a preference for the paternal side if possible. But usually even this is avoided by the adoption of an heir, such being the preoccupation of the Lahulis with keeping the property undivided and with handing down the family name.

585 [595] [601] On the 1st July 1938, Wazir Thakur Partap Chand took me to Gumling village to see a *bag-ma* wedding in the Tolag-pa house. It will be seen in the genealogy of the Karpa house given in Table 26, that Tseten, eldest of the four sons of Namgyal Karpa, after having been part of a polyandrous marriage with his three brothers, left them when their common wife died to become a *mag-pa in* the Tolag-pa House of Gumling. He had had four boys and two girls, and it was to the wedding of these four sons of Tseten that my wife and I were now invited.

On arrival at the house, Tseten received us, flanked by a young woman [203] beautifully dressed in coloured silks with a white scarf over her shoulders and a magnificent turquoise crown on her head, who immediately offered us *chang* (local barley beer) to drink, in spite of the early hour (it was seven a.m.). All the way from Kyelang to Gumling, only [564] half an hour's ride, we had been preceded by a member of the smith [533] caste, a Gara, who drummed away loudly on a kettle-shaped instrument to do us honour and announce our arrival. He now stopped beating it and went into the house with us to join others like himself who, today, on this festive occasion, constituted the band.

With the Wazir, we were taken up to a guest room where we were invited to sit cross-legged on the floor and plied with tea and more *chang*. Once we had been through this ritual of polite reception, we were taken up onto the roof of the house where a carpet had been put

[Text Continues on p. 318]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

 If there are boys in a family, it is the eldest son who inherits the whole holding and the family name, and is the lawful occupier-tenant of either State or tenant *zhing-kham*. He has full rights of enjoyment and disposal which he shares with no one. If there are no boys to inherit the house and family name, then the eldest daughter will take over, provided that she has not married out of the house beforehand. Cases are known, however, in which a daughter married out has been divorced and brought back to the family holding in order to take it over and carry it on intact to another generation.

Marriage in Ladak, as in Lahul, is either *bag-ma* (patrilocal and patrilineal or *mag-pa* (matrilocal and matrilineal). These names are sometimes replaced by the terms *na-ma* (*mNa-ma*) meaning "daughter-in-law", and *bag-po* (*bag-po*) for "bridegroom".

Bag-ma marriage is a fraternally polyandrous one in most cases, all the brothers of the bridegroom becoming automatically husbands of the bride. It is the custom, usually, only to have the elder son and the next eldest one at the ceremony, but it is understood that whatever other boys there are in a family are also married to the wife of the eldest.

Mag-pa marriage can also be polyandrous, if the heiress so desires. But in this case, it is non-fraternal, the woman usually choosing husbands who are unrelated and the secondary ones being generally younger than their predecessors. A man can be *mag-pa* to an heiress and to her sisters, but unless he is formally married to them all, he only has a right of access to the younger ones; they are free at any time to leave the household and to contract *bag-ma* marriages outside.

The institution of the *porjag* exists also in Ladak; such a man is called in if the bride remains childless. It appears, however, that a second such extra man is never brought into a family, it being considered unbefitting to do so, whereas in Lahul there are no such scruples. The custom of taking a wife extra to the one already existing, is also practised in Ladak, the new woman being called *chan-chung* (*Byan-ch'hung*) in such a case. Actually, there is no limit to the amount of wives a man, or men, living in polyandry, may take in. It is, however, not considered proper to have more than four wives at a time – possibly the result of Moslem influence in the country. The formalities of marriage are only observed on the occasion of the first marriage (called *chan-ch'hen* (*Byan-ch'hen*)), while on the occasion of *chan-ch'hung* mentioned above, or of *yang-chung* (*Yang-ch'hung*), taking a third or fourth wife, only *chang* is given to relatives, and that part of the marriage ceremony in which head cloths are put on is performed. The second, third and fourth wives are generally selected from relatives of

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595 425 428 688 such as cattle, sheep and goats in small quantities. Its dwellers also have household utensils and movable property such as furniture. These things, the size of the house, and the amount of fields and animals, vary from household to household, but are fixed quantities within each one individually; they do not change but remain the same for every succeeding generation.

595 425 428 [851] The elder son or daughter who has acquired ownership of the *k'hang-chen* takes over full proprietorship, which includes not only the rights that go with it, but also the obligations. Thus, an elder son has to look after his younger brothers, maintain them whatever their behaviour, be it good or bad (he may never disinherit them), share his wife with them and look upon the children born to him as just as much theirs as his own. Younger brothers are at liberty to leave and contract marriages elsewhere if they so wish; in actual fact, they often do become *mag-pas* of heiresses, in which case they forfeit their rights to property in the [1192] *k'hang-chen* of their elder brother. Sometimes, they become lamas and join some monastery, in which case they are entitled to retain their share or give it up, as they please.

595 796 The owner of the *k'hang-chen* must see to it that the monthly *lha-bsang* (*lHa-bSang* (*aBras*)) or "god meal (of rice)" ceremony is performed. This takes place on the 10th of each month – and sometimes on the 8th too. Occasionally, a neighbour will help by holding the rite in his house for both households, and vice-versa. The New Year Tibetan festival must also be observed, as well as those agricultural feasts which occur at sowing time in February and March (*sa-kag*, *ma-zhing*) and at the harvest in October (*sGrub-lha*).

595 651 An obligation exists also to white-wash *chötens* and *mani*-walls regularly, and for some, to do the same to the walls of the castle at Leh. Death rites must be carried out, tax paid to the Kashmir government (which holds only the owner of the *k'hang-chen* responsible for this) as well as various dues and *ulag* or *begar* (forced, unpaid labour) acquitted to those to whom it is owed (government, monasteries). Divorced sisters who return home must be looked after (they have the right to live in the *k'hang-chen* and do not go to the *k'hang-gu*), and younger sons who go to Lhasa for studies and employment must have their expenses paid by the head of the family.

595 591 888 My informant, Nono Tse P'hün, told me that he had seen households in which not only the parents lived in a *k'hang-gu*, but also grandparents and even great-grandparents. In Likir, there was in 1953 a great-grandfather who had outlived everyone in the various *k'hang-gus* on

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the property, and, because he had remained all alone, had requested to be allowed to return to the *k'hang-chen*. He was given permission to do so by his great-grandson.

Parents are not really bound by custom to move into the *k'hang-gu* as described above. They can go on living in the *k'hang-chen* if they so decide, and their children (and the wife) agree to it. A family in which parents and married offspring thus live together is called *k'hang-shi zang-po* (*K'hang-gShis bZang-po*). I understand that an increasing amount of households are giving up the old custom of *k'hang-chen k'hang-gu cho ches*, because, as my informants told me, "nobody wants it any more".

At the death of the occupiers of the *k'hang-gu*, it reverts to the *k'hang-chen*; should the mother die first, the *ma-skal* will revert immediately, while the *p'ha-skal* will only become part of the main portion of the family property when it is not occupied any longer by either fathers or unmarried sisters. The *k'hang-gu* of a grandparent or of a great-grandparent reverts to the *k'hang-chen* at the demise of its occupier, and not to the *k'hang-gu* in which the parents and sisters are living, as might be expected. Unmarried sisters can leave to be wed in *bag-ma*, in which case their occupation ceases and the *k'hang-gu* is re-absorbed by the *k'hang-chen*.

4. *Divorce and marital irregularities*

Divorce in Ladak is called *Chad-dral* (*bChad-aBral*) or "cut separate". There is rarely a ceremony connected with it, and formalities are reduced to the minimum. Usually, repudiation of one of the parties by the other takes place orally, simply in the presence of witnesses. It is possible, however, to have a written deed made out, which contains the declaration of divorce, the evidence gathered to justify it, and a record of how the dowry of the woman was paid back to the family. The ceremony which sometimes takes place is called *Lso-pang* (*lSo-sPang*) or "dung reject", and occurs when a husband or husbands wish to divorce their *bag-ma* wife. After the latter has been repudiated in either of the ways described above, the men's *p'ha-spuns* are feasted with *chang*. Salt, onions, grain and the remains of the fermented grain with which the *chang* was made, are thrown into the fire and the ashes cast away. Sometimes, instead of these things being burnt, sheep and goat droppings will be collected and symbolically cast away.

If a woman wishes to divorce her husband – an heiress her *mag-pa*, or a widow her deceased husband's younger brothers, with whom she

[See discussion in category 116, pp. 352-355 -- Ed.]

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586 refuses to live any longer – she will sometimes tie a thread between one
[768] of her fingers and one of those of the (dead) man, and cut it across to show that she is free.

Divorce in Ladak is irrevocable, but can be conditional. It is thus
[831] sometimes stipulated in cases of proven infidelity that the partner at fault will not be authorized to remarry the paramour, and that if this does take place, the marriage will be void and the divorce non-existent. – A *bag-ma* wife can be divorced by her husband(s) on the grounds of mutual incompatability of temperament, of her own infidelity (in which case she loses all rights of compensation), of her carelessness and ignorance of her household duties, of what her parents-in-law consider to be her serious defects.

A *bag-ma* wife will be allowed to divorce her husband on the other hand, if impotence is proved in his case, if he is obviously unfaithful and adulterous, if he ill-treats her, or if she is wilfully neglected.

In a *mag-pa* marriage, the wife can repudiate her husband and divorce him without any reason whatever; all she has to do is to turn him out of the house. Consequently, to be a *mag-pa* is not an enviable
[595] position really, in Ladak. Many younger brothers seem, however, to prefer it to being the junior partners of a polyandrous marriage, and it is to be presumed that much depends on the merits of each individual case. Immorality in a *mag-pa* is very rarely evoked by the wife, my informants told me, as his conduct in that respect is of no great impor-
586 tance. If he should change his religion, however, and become a Mos-
797 lem or a Christian, that is another matter, and the wife will immediately be entitled to get rid of him on these grounds. In the previous case of a *bag-ma* marriage, such a reason could not be held against the wife, simply because she would never be authorized by her husbands to change her religion. She would have to be divorced first in order to do so.

586 A *mag-pa* husband can be released from his marriage to an heiress if notorious misconduct on her part is proved. I was told that a woman in this position who would be divorced in this way would find it very difficult to remarry, as "nobody would want an immoral woman as a wife, whatever the property she may have".

If a husband wants to divorce his *bag-ma* wife or a wife is inclined to turn out her *mag-pa* husband, both of these are liable, in accordance with Kashmir customary law, to give a sum of money, the equivalent of a cow, to the divorced person; the name of such a monetary amount is *Mo-skyur-ba* (*Mo-bSkyur-ba*) meaning "woman thrown out cow". If,

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on the other hand, the divorce occurs at the request of the *bag-ma* wife or of the *mag-pa* husband, the equivalent in money of a horse will be given to the injured party. This is called *P'ho-skyur-ta* (*P'ho-bSkyur-rTa*) or "man thrown out horse". During the reign of the Tibetan kings of Western Tibet, real horses and cows were handed over. But with the accession of the Dogra masters, Wazir-i-Wazarat Akbar Ali Shah, who ruled in Ladak in the early 1870s, converted the value of these animals into cash, a horse being estimated as worth Rs. 25, and a cow Rs. 12/8/–. Henceforward, compensation had to be paid in money and no longer in kind.

Extra-marital relations do occur in Ladak among polyandrous people, but on the whole all my informants, including the Reverend W. Asboe, were very insistant that those who practised polyandry were more "moral" than the others who did not. They meant by this, that the pressure of public opinion upon remaining faithful to the custom and not departing from what was expected of those living matrimonially in this fashion was very great and, usually, very effective in enforcing the rule.

In spite of this, it could not be said that departures from this moral rule did not occur. Lamas who had taken vows of celibacy, such as the Gelug-pas for instance, were known occasionally to get involved in illicit love affairs. A woman who was thus a partner to the strayings of a lama was known as a *la-dud* (*bLa-aDrud*), "dragger away of lama".

Unmarried girls who took lovers might be forced to marry them, if the man was unmarried. If he was already wed, he might have to divorce and marry the girl, or simply give her the necessary means of livelihood. Should she have a child by him, she would be turned out of her family's house and beaten, and the man would, in most instances, be obliged to marry her. The only exception could occur if he should already be married and have children, when he would have to arrange for the upkeep of his paramour and her child. As it was, this did not happen very often, all young girls normally being chaperoned when they attended public festivals. It was here that lovers met, it was admitted, but it would be difficult for an unmarried daughter, properly accompanied, to start an intrigue in this way.

Women living in polyandry did have lovers, I was told, because they did not always feel the affection which they should have for their many husbands. A *bag-ma* wife caught in the act would be beaten, driven out of the house and divorced, if she was not yet a mother. If she had children, she would not be driven away, but her paramour would be

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called *Shrub-zhing* (*sGrub-zhing?*), that is a small field put aside to supply her with some modest means of subsistance.

The widow of a deceased eldest brother is otherwise at liberty to leave the house and family. But her choice must be made at once, at the death of her eldest husband; should she not avail herself of this opportunity, she remains the legal wife of the surviving brothers and she will lose her claim to separation, unless she formally divorces them later.

If a family of brothers, married in *bag-ma*, dies without issue, their unmarried eldest sister is entitled to the inheritance, if she continues to live on the family property. If she is married in *bag-ma* elsewhere, she can occasionally divorce in order to inherit the property. Otherwise, the next-of-kin who become the heirs are the father, the mother, the widow of the deceased (if she continues to reside in the family house), the eldest of agnates, the *p'ha-spun*, in that order of precedence.

Unless a widow inherits the property, she is only entitled to maintenance during her lifetime. She will receive *To-zhing* if she is an only or the eldest wife; if she is a second or other subsequent wife, she will only receive *Shrub-zhing*. If, on the other hand, a widow inherits the property, she is entitled like an eldest daughter, to take a *mag-pa*; she must, however, hand on the ancestral property complete at her death, to the heirs which she may have with her new husband, or to the next-of-kin of her late husband who are entitled to receive the succession.

If an eldest daughter, who has inherited the family property, dies without issue, her *mag-pa* is entitled to succeed to it, provided that he marries a relative of his deceased wife's family. If he, again, has no children, after his death his second wife will inherit the property if she survives him. If she does not, the relatives of his first wife will be the heirs. An heiress may make a gift of property to her *mag-pa* during her lifetime, to make sure of his possession in case of her death. Such a gift is perfectly legal, and often takes place.

Self-acquired property, as opposed to ancestral property, can always be made the object of a gift by a proprietor. He can also leave it by will to other heirs than his legal ones, despite the fact that he is not entitled to do this with family property. In some parts of Ladak (Tangtse), if a son is suffering from some incurable physical defect, a father is entitled to skip him and to arrange beforehand for some other heir to take his place.

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There was an entrance gate, a yard with a stable, a first floor with a *lha-k'hang*, as is usual. In this house which constituted the *k'hang-chen*, we found a family of two men, their common wife and three boys, as well as a divorced sister of the brothers. At the end of the field, attaining to the house, was a smaller building, with a field of its own. This was the *k'hang-gu*, and in it were the parents of the men. These parents consisted of a decrepit old hag and her three old husbands, and they had been living there for some six years already. The eldest of the men in the *k'hang-chen*, named Sonam Tsewang, acted as the informant, and it was with him that I made the genealogical tree of the family as shown here in Table 31.

The eldest sister of the fathers in the *k'hang-gu* was dead, it seemed. She had been married off in *bag-ma* to two brothers of a household called Chubipa, and she had had sons to continue the line there. The three brothers had married one woman called Sonam Putit – the old hag who was living with the men – and these people had had five children, three daughters and two boys.

The eldest daughter, Tsewang Palmo, had fallen in love and married a Christian called Dorge, much to her family's displeasure, not so much because of the difference in religion, but because, being a convert of the mission, he had no land of his own (he had been excluded by his own family) and had to work as a peon. The second daughter, Standzin Rolma, had married into a household called Kushu but had since divorced and had returned to her brothers. She now lived in the *k'hang-chen* as is the custom, and her brothers had to see to it that she was maintained. I was not able to find out under what circumstances she divorced.

The two boys, Sonam Tsewang and Skalzang, were married polyandrously with a woman named Ishe Rolma. They had three boys with her, and the continuity of the Mahe household through males was thus assured. A sister, born between the birthdays of the two men, called Chungnid, was the one we had met at the Tok-Tok household on the 30th of August. She was married polyandrously in *bag-ma* there to the two sons of Stobgye, Tsering Murup and Tsering Norpel.

We spent the afternoon of the same day at the house of an *amchi* or native Tibetan doctor, the *Gadpo-pa* (*rGad-po-pa*) Household. There was only a grandmother alive in this house, and she lived in the *k'hang-gu* reserved for her. The son, Chonde, who was a doctor, lived in a larger *k'hang-gu* than usual, because, as an *amchi*, he had private means and could add to the small home as he wanted. Actually, the

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
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793 361 reason for the existence of so many monasteries always inhabited and one to each town or village of reasonable size.

134 241 Ladakh is a land of extreme barrenness. If the population were permitted to increase the people would starve, for not only are they unable to grow sufficient to support more mouths than are already there, but with communications so bad, little can be 595 imported. In order to retain the population at its present level, since they are unable to live for long in other climates after all their lives breathing the rarer air of the mountains, as in Tibet, polyandry has become the custom of the land, and has been so from time immemorial, having proved a powerful check on the population, the greater percentage of which are women.

The system of polyandry is confined to brothers, each family having but one wife, and although the usual number of husbands is three, four or even five are not unknown. Occasionally one hears of a "brother" being adopted at the demand of the wife, and rather than lose their wife, the husbands have to agree to her lover becoming one of them. On no account can a family have more than one wife, so that the unfortunate 428 younger brothers in a large one have to suffer. The eldest son inherits the family estate as soon as he marries; it is his duty then to provide for his parents, grandparents and unmarried sisters, in addition to which he has to support those brothers who share his wife. This system of inheritance keeps the property intact, for there is never more than one heir and the patrimony is never divided.

428 582 595 If there is no son, then the property of the family is inherited by the daughter who is free to marry any man she wishes, even to have an experimental marriage with a younger son—this is done by a State-recognised religious ceremony. And she can divorce him after giving him a small present, say a sheep, if after a few days' trial he does not come up to her expectations. Besides all this she may choose several husbands if she so desires, all becoming the "brothers" of her first husband, who dare not protest for fear of being sacked. One can imagine the power an heiress has in her hands and how carefully the husband has to conduct himself that he is not dismissed. The husband of an heiress is called a "magpa". He, poor fellow, is unable to leave his heiress wife unless he can prove the grossest

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
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misconduct, no easy task in a country where the moral code is not too high and where husbands are prepared to share their wife.

The children of a family have one "big father" and several "little fathers". When the husband who actually married the woman dies, she need not remain with the brothers or junior husbands. If she wishes to leave them, she just ties a thread to the finger of her dead husband, breaks it, and is at once free of them all. It is a land where women enjoy unfettered power and liberty.

The simpleness of these people was early on demonstrated to me. We had considered ourselves fortunate in securing the services of a shikari from Leh who had taken a party through from that city the previous season to Baltistan to shoot markhor, afterwards going down with them to Srinagar. He had been away from his home for nearly a year, but showed no great delight on returning there, even though he met his brother who had also just returned from Tibet, he being a guide who each season took parties through from Leh to Lhasa, a three months' journey. Both men must have been in their late thirties, their wife was a comely soul of about the same age; she carried a baby which was not yet able to walk, and when next day I visited the house, which both brothers insisted that I must see, it was obvious, even although she was wearing the full dress of her countrywomen, that there was another child on the way.

After a while a boy, who might have been fifteen years old, came in and, since he acted as though he was a member of the household, I naturally took him to be a son, but not a bit of it, he was the third husband. Then I started working things out; both the elder brothers had been away from their home for so long that the child that was coming could only be that of the younger boy brother, and harking back again, I remembered that they had told me that the season before both had been away, so that the baby the wife carried in her arms must also have been his. It seemed that she had been married to the brothers for over twelve years and had had no children—probably both men were diseased—now when the boy brother took his place in the line, the family had started to increase. But the suggestion that they would at least know who was the father, was immediately

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir
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scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the watercourses.

There can be little doubt that the modest prosperity of the Ladākhis, in contrast to the universal poverty of Baltistān, is due to the practice of polyandry, which acts as a check on population. Whereas the Baltis, used to the extremes of temperature, are able to seek employment in hot countries, the Ladākhis would die if they were long away from their peculiar climate. In a family where there were many brothers, the younger ones could neither marry nor go abroad for their living. When the eldest son marries, he takes possession of the little estate, making some provision for his parents and unmarried sisters. The eldest son has to support the two brothers next him in age, who share his wife. The children of the marriage regard all three husbands as father. If there be more than two younger brothers, they must go out as Lāmas to a monastery, or as coolies; or, if he be fortunate, a younger son can marry an heiress, and become a Magpa. (If there is no son in a family the daughter inherits, and can choose her own husband, and dismiss him at will with a small customary present. The Magpa husband is thus always on probation, as the heiress can discard him without any excuse or ceremony of divorce.) When the eldest dies or becomes a Lāma, the next brother takes his place. But the wife, provided there are no children, can get rid of his brothers. She ties her finger by a thread to the finger of her deceased husband. The thread is broken, and she is divorced from the corpse and the surviving brothers. The woman in Ladākh has great liberty and power. She can, if she likes, add to the number of her husbands. Drew, who had a very intimate knowledge of Ladākh, thinks that polyandry has had a bad effect on the women, making them overbold and shameless. But others, who are equally entitled to form an opinion, consider this an unfair criticism.

In the town of Leh are many families of half-castes known as Arguns, the results of the union between Ladākhi women and Kashmīris, Turkī caravan-drivers, and Dogrās. The Dogrā children were known as Ghulāmzādas, and were bondmen to the State. The half-castes of Leh are no more unsatisfactory in Tibet than elsewhere, and many travellers have testified to the good qualities of the Argun.

The monasteries (*Gompa*) play an important part in the life of the Ladākhis. Nearly every village has its monastery, generally built in a high place difficult of access. At the entrance are prayer cylinders, sometimes worked by water-